



# **Transforming the Nation**

## **1877 to 1914**

- **Agriculture & the West**
- **Industrialization and Urbanization**
- **Immigration**
- **Progressivism**

# The West

- America was expanding its industrial capacity and needed the raw materials.
- American Indians were pushed off of most of their lands to make way for the new settlers.
- Gold was found and that drew adventurers, prospectors and miners.
- Citizens and Immigrants alike wanted land to settle their families on to ranch or farm.

# American Indians

Conflict with settlers in the East before the Civil War resulted in the removal policy which placed Indians in the West of the Mississippi, most in Oklahoma territory.

With larger numbers of people moving West after the war, Peace Commissions were sent to negotiate with Plains Indians in 1867 and 1868 and promised aid and non-interference

# Conflicts between Indians and the U.S. Army in the West

Sand Creek Massacre-1864, Colorado Territory

Little Big Horn-1876, Montana

Capture of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce-1877, Washington to Montana

Capture of Geronimo- 1886, Arizona

Ghost Dance Movement, 1890

Massacre at Wounded Knee-1890, South Dakota

- Helen Hunt Jackson will change attitudes with the publishing of *A Century of Dishonor*.

# US Gov't Policy towards American Indians.

Washington and Jefferson

- Assimilation and Treaty

Jackson and afterwards

- Removal and reservations

The Dawes Act of 1887 allowed each head of household 160 acres of reservation land.

- Tribal loyalties had to be renounced to gain American citizenship.
- Assimilation- boarding schools
- Between 1887 and 1934, Indians lost over half of their reservation lands to whites

In 1924 Coolidge signed the Indian Citizenship Act making all Native Americans citizens

# Cattle Ranching in the West

Western lands and the open range proved ideal for cattle ranching.

Cattle Drives to the railheads, then onto railroads, made it quicker and easier to move beef to the Eastern markets.



Harsh winters of 1885/86  
wiped out herds

Barbed wire allowed  
farmers to fence the  
open range to keep  
cattle from grazing.

# Farming in the West

Homestead Act (1862) basically free land of 160-acre sections)

- “rain follows the plow”

Railroads established towns, sold land after huge land grants from the government

Last major section of the West settled with Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889



# Unhappy Farmers

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, there were droughts, grasshopper plagues, and searing heat waves

City, state, and federal governments also increased taxes

The railroads (by fixing freight prices), the middlemen (by taking huge cuts in profits), and the various harvester, barbed wire, and fertilizer trusts all harassed farmers.



In 1867, **The Grange**, was founded by Oliver H. Kelley - social, educational, and fraternal activities.

The **Farmers' Alliance**, founded in the late 1870s with a political agenda, to take on the railroads and national bank.

The **Populist Party founded** in Omaha, NE, 1892 would nationally organize farmers politically.

### **Omaha Platform of 1892:**

1. Abolition of the National Bank.
2. Govt. ownership of RRs, telephone & telegraph companies.
3. Bimetallism
4. Graduated income tax.

Election of 1896: McKinley vs. William Jennings Bryan (Cross of Gold speech)

# Closing of the Frontier

1890 census declared that the frontier was closed.

Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis ("The Frontier in American History") stated:

- Frontier was a critical development of the American democracy
- Self-reliance and independent nature of American culture were fostered by the frontier

# How the West was Changed

- The railroad made new lands available that had been too difficult to get to.
- The cattle overgrazed the native long grasses and forever ruined areas for cattle. Sheep were introduced into these areas.
- Great expanses of land in the Great Plains were fenced for ranches or farms and mechanization increased production.
- Mines stripped the land in many areas.
- Indians were confined to smaller reservations and government policies tried to eradicate their native cultures as well.

# Growth of Industry

After the Civil War many people left farms to move to cities and work in new industries. Many blacks left the South looking for new opportunities.

Steam Revolution of the 1830s-1850s.

The Railroad fueled the growing US economy:

- Aided the development of other industries.

Immigrants took places in the factory system both as skilled and unskilled labor.- Cheap labor. By 1900 women made up 25% of the nonfarm labor.

Market growing as US population increased. Government attitude was Laissez Faire

# The Emergence of Big Business

After the Civil War businesses started to consolidate into larger companies  
**(corporations)**

- The idea of “**limited liability**” made this style of business highly profitable and lower risk.

When a single company controls an entire market it is a **monopoly**.

- The government tried outlaw monopolies.

Businesses bypassed these regulations by forming **trust companies** that held the shares in “trust” rather than owning them outright.

**Horizontal vs. Vertical Integration**

# Gov't Regulation

**1887** → **Interstate Commerce Act** began a shift towards federal rather than state regulation of big business.

→ Interstate Commerce Commission created.

**1890** → **Sherman Antitrust Act**

- First federal law prohibiting trusts against any "combination in the form of trusts or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade."
- It proved ineffective, however, because it couldn't be enforced.

**1914** → **Clayton Antitrust Act**

→ **Federal Trade Commission** formed to enforce the Clayton Antitrust Act

# Regulating the Trusts in the Courts

## **1877 → *Munn. v. IL***

- States could regulate business within their borders, including railroads.
- It was one of the first cases in the growth of federal government regulation.

## **1886 → *Wabash v. IL***

- States cannot regulate interstate trade

## **1895 → *US v. E. C. Knight Co.***

- Federal gov cannot regulate manufacturing, only distribution, since manufacturing isn't interstate.
- **Reduced the ability of the fed gov to regulate trusts.**

# Philosophies about Wealth

## The Gospel of Wealth

Wealth no longer looked upon as bad, viewed as a sign of God's approval, Andrew Carnegie wrote an essay titled, *Gospel of Wealth* on the topic.

## **Reverend Russell Conwell**, "Acres of Diamonds"

Poor people made themselves poor and rich people made themselves rich

## **Social Darwinism** - Advocate of laissez-faire

Notion of "Survival of the Economic Fittest."

## **Horatio Alger** "pull yourself up by your bootstraps"



# The Impact of the Industrial Revolution

- The standard of living rose
- Factories removed the individuality of workers.
- Workers had to perform highly specific, repetitive tasks and could take little pride in their work.
- The quest for efficiency took its toll on the American worker, demanding longer days and worse working conditions.

**Frederick W. Taylor**


***The Principles of Scientific  
Management (1911)***



# Unions

Collective Bargaining allows a group of individuals to work together to gain concessions from their employer. Common tactics were walkouts and strikes.

- Legalized by *Commonwealth v. Hunt* in 1842, labor unions tended to be small and limited to skilled trades
- Corporations had many weapons against strikers
  - Strikebreakers
  - Court injunctions or troops to break up strikes
  - Hiring “**scabs**” or replacements
  - “**lockouts**” to starve strikers into submission
  - “**ironclad oaths**” or “**yellow dog contracts**” which banned them from joining unions.
  - “**blacklisting**,” union workers which denied them jobs or privileges elsewhere.



**National Labor Union**, 1866, attracted 600,000 members, but it only lasted six years.

- It excluded Chinese, Blacks and women.
- It won an 8-hour day for gov't workers, but died during the depression of 1873.

**The Knights of Labor**, 1869, sought to create one big union of all workers, skilled and unskilled.

- Opposed to strikes generally.
- Led by Terence V. Powderly, the Knights won a number of strikes for the 8-hour day.
- A successful strike against Jay Gould's Wabash Railroad in 1885 drew a lot more members.

## **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**

- Founded by **Samuel Gompers** in 1886, demanding a fairer share for labor.
- Sought better wages, hours, and working conditions.
- Only skilled laborers could join.
- No women, African Americans, or other racial minorities



## **American Railway Union (1892).**

- Eugene Debs had a Socialist approach that viewed government and owners as enemies of workers.
- Successful strike against the Great Northern Railway for increased wages.
- All railroad workers were allowed in, regardless of specific job.
- Unsuccessful Pullman strike.

## The **Great Railroad Strike of 1877** - The country's first major rail strike

- When police were used against strikers in around the country, strikers responded with violence. Dozens were killed in the riots.

The **Haymarket Riot, 1886** was blamed on the Knights and the K of L became associated with anarchists, so the union died.

The **Homestead Strike** at Carnegie's steel mill in Pennsylvania, 1892, resulted in multiple deaths.

- The union was defeated by a lockout and all the strike leaders were blacklisted.

**Pullman Strike, 1894**, The Pullman Palace Car

Company cut wages five times – 30 to 70 percent in 1894, but refused to lower the rents on the worker's houses.

- Railroad workers around the country refused to work on a train that had a Pullman car attached- This “interfered” with the delivery of the mail so federal troops intervened.
- Pullman reopened with all union leaders fired.
- Debs was arrested and spent 6 months in jail.

- Working conditions** were horrible, dirty, crowded, and unsafe and resulted in 25,000 deaths in industrial accidents per year
- Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (NYC) in 1913 resulted in 146 deaths
  - 72,000 railroad workers killed between 1900 and 1917

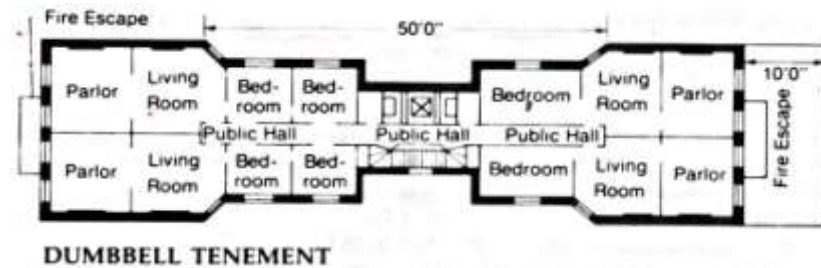


## Court cases

- In *Lochner v. New York* (1905), Supreme Court ruled that 60-hour workweek limit was unconstitutional
- In *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), Court reversed *Lochner* and limited women's working hours to 10 per day.
- Real labor reform won't happen until the 1930s when federal standards are set for the workplace.



# Urbanization



1. Massive growth of cities.
2. The start of Mass Transit in cities.
3. They became a magnet for economic and social opportunities.
4. Women and children join the workforce (paid less and worse conditions)
5. Squalid living conditions for many (tenements)
6. Political Machines controlled the cities
  - i.e. Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall
7. Ethnic neighborhoods.



# Immigrants

- Before the Civil War most of the immigrants had come from the British Isles and Western Europe (Germany and Scandinavia), were literate, and accustomed to some type of representative government.
- Between 1800-1880, 10 million immigrants came to America, “**Old Immigration**”



- Between 1891-1910, 12 million immigrants came to America. “**New Immigration**”
- Many of these new immigrants were Catholic, Greek Orthodox, or Jewish, this would cause conflict with the predominantly Protestant “native” Americans.
- While the southeastern Europeans accounted for only 19% of immigrants to the U.S. in 1880, by the early 1900s, they were over 60%!



# Fixing the problems of the Cities

**Social Gospel-** sought to apply teachings of Jesus' to the problems of urban society. Blame for problems did not rest with the poor, but with society.

- Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden

**Salvation Army**  
**YMCA's and YWCAs**  
**Chautauqua movement**



# The Economy

The **Panic of 1873**, was caused by too many railroads and factories being formed than existing markets could bear and the over-lending by banks to those projects.

**\*\*Essentially, the causes of the panic were the same old ones that'd caused recessions every 20 years that century: (1) over-speculation and (2) too-easy credit.**

Will lead to the Greenback Party in 1878 and the Populists in 1896, after the **Panic of 1893**


# Politics

In the 1870s and the 1880s, Republican infighting was led by rivals **Roscoe Conkling (Stalwarts)** and **James G. Blaine (Half-Breeds)**, who bickered and deadlocked their party.

In 1880, the Reps nominated **Garfield** and a notorious **Stalwart**, Arthur. When Garfield is assassinated, Arthur becomes President and the Pendleton Civil Service Act is passed.

In 1884, James G. Blaine was the Republican candidate, but some Republican reformers, switched to the Democratic Party and were called **Mugwumps**.

The Democrats (and Republican Mugwumps) chose **Grover Cleveland**



In 1896, after Harrison and then Cleveland again, there was a strong third party movement.

The Panic of 1893 fueled the passion of the Populists.

Many unemployed marched to D.C. calling for change, “Coxey’s Army” marched on with scores of followers and called for:

- Relieving unemployment with a government public works program.

In 1896 Republican McKinley will beat out Populist/Democratic Bryan.

# Progressivism

Fought against monopolies, political corruption, inefficiency, and social injustice.

- The purpose of the Progressives was to use the government as an agency of human welfare.

The Progressives had their roots in the **Greenback Labor Party** of the 1870s and 1880s and the **Populist Party** of the 1890s.

# Muckrakers

Reformer-writers wrote extensively about the corruption of American society.

- **Thorstein Veblen** criticized the new rich in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*
- **Jacob A. Riis** wrote *How the Other Half Lives*, a book about the New York slums and its inhabitants
- **Lincoln Steffens** wrote a series of articles entitled *The Shame of the Cities*, about the corrupt alliance between big business and the government.
- **Ida M. Tarbell** launched a devastating exposé against Standard Oil and its ruthlessness.

The muckrakers sincerely believed that cures for the ills of American democracy, was more democracy.



# Progressive Reforms

1. **Suffragettes** argued that women had the same “natural rights” as men, which meant participating politically.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

National Woman's Party

2. Reformers like **Jane Addams** with Hull House and **Lillian Wald** with Henry Street House sought to improve urban conditions with their **Settlement houses**.

3. **The Woman's Christian Temperance Union** (WCTU), founded by Frances E. Willard, and the Anti-Saloon League were formed.

4. **Conservation-** Sierra club, national parks, federal legislation to protect nature.

# Reforming government

Government reform was a major focus of the progressive movement.

- **Secret ballots** –vote your own choices, and not the political bosses.
- The **city manager plan** was adopted where a non-elected official ran the city, i.e. someone not controlled by the political machine.
- The “**initiative**” –voters could directly propose legislation
- The “**referendum**” –people could vote directly on laws that affected them
- The “**recall**” –voters could remove bad officials from office.
- Finally, in 1913, the 17th Amendment provided for **direct election of senators**.

# Consumer Protection

In 1906, the Meat Inspection Act was passed.

- Upton Sinclair's novel "**The Jungle**"

The Pure Food and Drug Act, 1906

- The FDA was created to regulate it.

# Three Progressive Presidents

Teddy Roosevelt

William Taft

Woodrow Wilson

Who was the real “**trustbuster**”?

# Election of 1912

